24 "The jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there was adequate virgin forest or old second growth forest available to meet the needs of the population and they simply cleared new gardens. The usual system was for each man to have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting.

423 The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of new garden sites explains the absence of concepts of property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest lands within a convenient distance were exhausted, the village moved a short distance to the proximity of fresh soil. This occurred every five to ten years among the aboriginal Mundurucú, although the present depleted populations may remain in one site for from 40 to 50 years. The same causes that operated to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village level also. In Mundurucú society there was no land holding unit. However, a definite feeling existed that the man who chose a garden site and initiated and directed the labor upon it was entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby became the "owner" of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this was a very loose concept as food was freely shared among relatives and a person who, for some reason, did not have a garden was given food or allowed to take it from the garden of another.

241 Mundurucú horticulture involved a high degree of 478 cooperation. The heavy work of clearing the forest was done by an all-village male work group. Each man who planned a

24/476 garden invited all the other men of the village to help him. He supplied the food, usually palm fruit and sweet manioc beverages, consumed while actually doing the work. The work was done under the general supervision of the man whose garden was being cleared. However, his directing activities consisted of little more than deciding the location and extent of the garden. The burning and final clearing of the garden were done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. He and his wife planted all of the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc was done for each garden by all of the people in the village as this was a more extensive operation and was well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dug the holes for the planting of the manioc stalks while the women gathered and cut the stalks and dropped the sections into the holes.

24/476 Other crops were harvested as they ripened, but manioc, which can be left in the ground for a year, was harvested as needed. Almost all vegetables were gathered in from the gardens by the wife of the owner of the garden assisted by one or two women of her household, but the manioc was brought in by all the women of the household. The tubers were dug up from any one of the gardens belonging to the members of the household, processed by all the women of the house jointly and shared by all the members of the extended 250 family dwelling within it. Each house had one large flat stone that was used as a griddle to bake the flat cakes of manioc flour, or beiju, as it is called in the lingua geral.

252 Processin of manioc is a lengthy procedure and involves many steps. The women worked well together under the loose supervisin of the oldest woman in the household-extended family. cooperative labor allowed different women to be working i all stages of the process at the same time, thus expeditin greatly the work in this, the most important female duty. Inaddition to the greater efficiency obtained, an onerous tok was made pleasant, as the making of hally was an occasin for chatter, joking, and gossip. The principal technique of slash and burn agriculture are still used by the moder Mundurucu, but the above division of labor has been altred.

Distribution of food and manufactures.

264 476 As has been indicated, the distribution of foodstuffs within thevillage was very fluid. hally was produced ad shared jointly by the members of the extended family among further distributed to other houses according to kinship ties. There was only one cooking fire within each house, and fish and game were shared by all the members of the resident extended family. If there was an ample supply, the food w divided equally among the houses of the village regardless of kinship. However, when the day's kill was very small a bird, a few fish, or a small animal, the nuclear family of the hunter ate the food themselves. This was exceptional.

ollectivity in food sharing is further highlighted by the fac that all the men of the village ate together in

the men's homes. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. It was not considered polite to demand something from another. Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

Division of Labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Guahiboan productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

in any way. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú was especially deep. The men hunted, fished, and did only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also made baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women did all of the other gardening work, processed manioc, cooked, tended children, wove hammocks, made pottery, and fetched water and firewood. The burden of the more onerous work fell on the women. The men had far more leisure time.

Within the sexes, and on occasion cross-sexually, cooperation was the keynote of the Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which were almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts involved people working as a group. This is not to discount the non-cooperative pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trailing, bow and arrow fishing, and the planting of minor crops, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture was done by numbers of men working in coordination.

Housebuilding was also a collective task in which men did the heavy work of construction while women and children aided in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since housebuilding was almost always done only when the villages moved, every household helped the others in the task of construction. All the houses of the new village rose uniformly instead of being completed one at a time.

Among the women the same held true. The women made <u>hoes</u> together, harvested crops together and even went

[illegible] to the and fuel water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Mundurucú. The Mundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society. Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Mundurucú lore and not by economic means. Indeed, the Mundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Mundurucú did not compare people

* It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Mundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of captive sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

623 and house leaders and other older men of the village had the greatest influence in these matters for it would have been highly impertinent of the "children" (as anybody under the age of about 35 or 40 was called by the older men) to contest the wisdom of those who were collectively referred to as "the old men."

624 The house leader was simply the oldest man of the house and generally the husband of the oldest female, who occupied the respected position of older sister, mother, and maternal aunt to the other women of the house. He was a man who married into the village, or at least the house, from outside and his position was the result of circumstances rather than selection or heredity. In our discussion of the household organization and economy, it became clear that the house leader did little to direct the activity of the women. His sons-in-law treated him with the respect due an older man and a father-in-law, but, since most of their activity was carried out in the larger unit of the village, he exerted little authority over them.

676 571 The leadership of collective enterprises was generally invested in the person who initiated the activity and not in the chief. If a man wanted to organize a tiehé fishing trip, he notified the other men in the village of his desire and a date and place was set. The men then went out to the garden of the man who initiated the party and helped him to mill up the tiehé roots. Direction was nominally in his hands and if many people took part, he would carry com-

476 571 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the participants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the virabé.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the capacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[214] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Munduruc 157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell tasty stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain 554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

186 Authority was an unimportant concept in Munduruc life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their council. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important functions of the village chief were to heal war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

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Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Munduruc warfare.

At this time there were at least twenty Munduruc villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

The many villages of the Munduruc were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Munduruc felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Munduruc world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outsiders." "Outsiders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Munduruc war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outsiders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Munduruc villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Munduruc.

While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Munduruc attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggression was suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[i.e. The middle of the nineteenth century—Analyst]

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served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war promised many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:94) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilineality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

INHERITANCE, INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

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their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mandurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to cooperate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was coherencially

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the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilineage for lineal descent among the Munduruca was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Munduruca villages. Local nuclei, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *cutia* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly collective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming work of manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, toasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *beiju* or made into manioc flour for the trader. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest woman of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipiti*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unpressed manioc pulp by the

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women who were grating the new tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring considence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His formal functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *aepoxhokat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal patterns of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mundurucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and equivalence, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

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tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and prevailed almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the regular shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

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values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karaiba*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazonia" (Almeida Serra 1869:4). Wallis, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practise neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres, there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiaká Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[4] Tocantins (1877:90) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 300 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 543

Marital breakups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the man's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the normal division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [546] [462]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was set patterned by wet and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 226]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family households, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [431]

Farinha was then a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the households in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village; and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [423]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the ends to which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioc, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual
[156] and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

534 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

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181 ganization of the men's house, which
577 also formed a focus for male social participation. Cooperation in the econ-
[176] omy was elaborated far beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare
[72] was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt magico-religious purposes.

War and fraternity were ritualistic in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent: intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male cohesiveness was fostered by warfare. Mundurucú society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No
[184] commitments were owed to those outside the system; the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Mundurucú to persons outside the system would have effectively vitiated and devitalized it.

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[p. 374 (A)]

[pp. 374 (B) – end not processed for the files. – Analyst]

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level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the garden of another.

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticultural work. Although almost all married men have their own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on the location and extent of the garden. These collective garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, bathing, gathering fruits, and chatting. The actual labor is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure.

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ECONOMIC LIFE

241 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done
• 96 by the owner, usually aided by other members of his
42 household. His wife and the other women of the house
plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid
252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beijú*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beijú manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from
[92] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The
[412] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *pantala* palm, halved and placed side by side to form
[177] a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctated with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipiti*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipiti is suspended at

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752 in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipiti, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

762 The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Munduruc productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized [763] occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftainey—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Munduruc is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make [777] pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

462 Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally between the sexes, coöperation is the keynote of the 476 Munduruc economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

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ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of men working in coördination. 462 476

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipití; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chores are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through coöperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the minimal work unit, and all women of the village commonly join in. Coöperative manioc processing by all village women originated after contact with the whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce- 777 462 476 [415]

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manioc skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and cooperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Munduruci to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on cooperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Munduruci lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Munduruci rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

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tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of the Munduruká most delicate, as will be seen presently, but the problem of the integration of the male into a household group far from his native village would have imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilinearity and matrilocality is most rare. The Munduruká men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilineally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same society and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

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the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, although this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, deference, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently relax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And, as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

In the ekxá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleeping arrangements. On each side of the men's house and down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

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greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on coöperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself

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from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But there are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the ekxá only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

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among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Cooperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

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food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently cooperate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of farinha, especially when large quantities are to be produced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are concepts of property among the savannah Munduruca, for cooperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals or extended families.

That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

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and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. Two elderly Munduruců, one from the Tropas River and the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their cooperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Munduruců principle that cooperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible. [83]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete among the women, however. The household unit of fe-

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SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tattooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and coöperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pe-

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ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Munduruc\u00fa owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

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especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In times long past, the alternatives to village life were privation and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an alternate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams. That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the area have elected it. But the 300 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

The keynote of this organization lies in cooperation in production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend on cooperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

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them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Munduruců in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Munduruců culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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182 439 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi- [44] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens [241] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

182 146 361 621 Individual nuclear families sometimes move immediately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.

182 • 476 621 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gardening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

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canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting the Mundurucú is to scatter the population into semi-isolated and economically independent units. When the now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sae Cinza and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Caroçal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will propably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the loose communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Mundurucú who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

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of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

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crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

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439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

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a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well-weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses.

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476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

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owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are considered to be the property of the chief, since they were purchased through his and his extended family's labor. The large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cururú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position primarily to recognition by the mission, but who is also accorded some deference because of his age and his status as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

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241 192 462 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this, but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

241 621 [178] [591] It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Mundurukú who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Mundurukú Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Mundurukú who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

241 476 621 /22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or less the primitive or traditional form of the Mundurukú agricultural system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Mundurukú/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

/22 cont./ this cooperative labor exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases, which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, untenanted land. /23/ (12) There only

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expanded labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

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*241 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only
421 plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper
462 soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In
594 both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns
●476 it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance
[423] of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

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13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Mundurukú, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Mundurukú of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Dekudyem. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Mundurukú was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

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assistance, on compensation for the labor rendered to the community. Aside from this statement about a collective garden, the informants also mentioned private family gardens, where they chiefly (but not exclusively) cultivate complementary, accessory foods, such as bananas, pepper, etc. The data gathered, however, give no clear evidence as to whether this collective garden served for the communal, daily use of the group, or whether it merely existed as a reserve in case of need, in the assistance of the old and incapacitated, in the sustenance of guests, or as a ceremonial garden to contribute to important festivities. Regarding a type of garden among the Tenetehara, used communally but owner privately, see Wagley-Galvão (1948: 139).

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members help each other; and each must assist the others, when their turn comes to prepare their plot. Thus there exists, with reference to this collective work, an elaborate system of revenue and compensation on an equalitarian basis. Days of labor are received, and later this assistance is repaid in kind with days of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with a broad system of mutual assistance. Naturally, the owner of the new plot finds his chief support among /25/ his own kin: adult children, brothers, brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, etc. This mutual assistance, however, is not obtained spontaneously, but through personal invitations proferred individually rather than collectively. The manner of doing this is

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241 476 very simple: the assistance is requested and the day and other circumstances are set. There are no invitation dances or things of that sort. It is important for the owner of the plot to set the days of assistance, because he has to provide the mess for that day: meat, fish, tapioca cakes, drink. The continuity or interruption of garden labor depends on the acquisition of this food. When the men are many and the owner of the plot cannot get sufficient food, the work is done in shifts. The site is cleared for a day or two, and then the work is interrupted to hunt or to fish. The felling is done later in the same manner, "as the food comes," as they say. The breaks, or, inversely, the days of work, thus depend on the existing victuals or supplies. (14)

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14. The custom of inviting neighbors and relatives to communal tasks and of setting the respective days also exists, in this same sense of mutual assistance, among the peasants of the lower Amazon. In the area of Santarém, Alenquer, Óbidos, etc., this is called puxirum, "to set a puxirum," "to go to a puxirum," etc. Undoubtedly, this custom has deep roots and originated in ancient times, when the lower Amazon still belonged to the Indians and their villages. In other areas, the puxirum is called ajurí (Negro River) or else mutirão (in the south of the country). Wagley (1949: 106) also reports this cooperative venture as putirão or "invitation." See also Caldeira, 1956.

241 476 This explains also why men and women, in turn, prefer to work in groups: because they work at the invitation of the owner of the

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241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regarding [574] the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the [423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 [291] How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the system of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal [347] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, [423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties [476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)